Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

# THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE, IN HIS *SOLITUDES* AND *SUFFERINGS*.

ROM. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

D. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1648.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY
25
JUN
1923
OXFORD

# ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

## 1. *Vpon his Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament J called, not more by others advice, and necessity of my affairs, then by my own choyce and inclination, who have alwayes thought the Right way of Parliaments most safe for my Crowne, and best pleasing to my People: And although J was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to conveen for some years, J hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State; J hoped by my (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as J feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so J resolved they should find least of them in my selfe; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason J should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

J was indeed sorry to heare with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen, would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens

wel-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve & reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then my ſelf; who knewing beſt the largeneſſe of my own Heart towa d my Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed my ſelf moſt in that good and firme underſtanding which would hence grow between me and my people.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, my owne and my Childrens interſts gave me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The only temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen my ſelf in ſome things of my wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but mine enemies alſo: exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *Odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſſeneſſe in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Lawes and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity, & Order, then my ſelf, whom it moſt concerns both in piety and policie: as knowing that, no flames of civill diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious Pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reforme, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe; and to grant what ever my Reaſon and Conſcience told me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept my ſelfe

ſelfe within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own Judgment to have been over-borne in ſome things more by others importunities, then their Arguments; my confidence had leſſe betrayed my ſelfe, and my Kingdomes to thoſe Advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our Proſperity.

*For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming, do not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miſcarriages.*

*Our ſinnes have overlaid our hopes; thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.*

*When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon Preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.*

*For want of timely repentance of our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe remedies we too late apply.*

*Yet I do not repent of my calling this laſt Parliament, becauſe O Lord I did it with an upright intention to thy glory and my Peoples good.*

*The miſeries which have enſued upon me and my Kingdomes, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet through thy mercy, Preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.*

*O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an enemy, but a father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of pati-*

*ence in repentance which becomes thy children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.*

*Thy grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſins. O thou ſoveraigne goodneſſe and wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo our hearts, that the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercy.*

*As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into poiſon, ſo let thy grace turn our Poiſons into Antidotes.*

*As the ſinnes of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.*

*That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant, (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake.* Amen.

---

## II. *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings; and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integrity.

Though

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs: then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unſatisfiedneſſe in conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome People I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I thinke wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part, (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of conſcience with greater regret: which as a Signe of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of man, then of God, whoſe name and place on earth, no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publ ke convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences to ſhew the world he fallacy of that Maxime; *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the People be diſpleaſed or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelihood I could never have ſuffered, with

my People greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which my conſcience ſuggeſted to me, then I have done, ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I have obſerved that thoſe, who councelled me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: he only hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me not to conſent againſt the vote of my own conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the ſinful raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in my ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Iudgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon me, are ſo much the more welcome; as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to me,) and for the future to teach me, that the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the Peace of my conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my Reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from me, to Acts, wherein my conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed me, in my Lord of *Straffords* buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in my affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whoſe guiltineſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, ſas after a long and faire hearing to give convincing atisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially

ally that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: and for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die; who for their integrity in their Votes, were, by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for juſtice*, (that is, to have both my ſelfe and the two Houſes Vote and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning Party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tels the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knowes) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publike miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and man to all poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War, which ſome men will needs charge on me, to eaſe their own ſouls; who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

*But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temtation of envy or malice againſt him, and by my place*

*ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denyed my conſent to his deſtruction.*

*O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.*

*Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſnes*

*Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evill in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.*

*Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean, waſh me with that pretious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.*

*Teach me to learn righteouſneſſe by thy judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that among other ſinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and bearie troubles.*

*Make me to prefer juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours; which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.*

*It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my reaſon of conſcience, which is highly to ſinne againſt thee, the God of reaſon, and Judge of our conſciences.*

*Whatever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy ſalvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of reaſon, juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my ſoul, for thou deſireſt ruth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expreſſions.*

*Lord hear the voice of thy Son, and my Saviours bloud which ſpeaks better things; O make me, and my people, to heare the voice of joy and gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.*

III. *Upon*

## III. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of my friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free and legal Trial, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdomes: of all which *I* miſſed but little to have produced Writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publike peace; which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half-a-dozen men, in a fair and legal way [which God knows was all my deſign] could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do me and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their innocencie, and removed my ſuſpicions; which as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither in reaſon were they to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe. The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended me, could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt me both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impunity or popular vindications of them will be a ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeale, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after-unavoidable judgment which ſhall rejudge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions which I foreſaw would in

in all likelihood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done, to the undoing of many thouſands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice & Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

*But thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent; or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in my thoughts,*

*Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine honour in the duſt.*

*Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.*

*Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſin, in that matter; more then their impunity, among good men, is any ſure token of their innocency.*

*But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.*

*Save thy Servant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.*

*Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoice in thy ſalvation.*

*IV. Upon*

## IV. *Upon the inſolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* & *Weſtminſter* ſoon after the convening of this Parliament: which were not like a ſtorm at ſea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the moſt convincing arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the ſea; ſo 'tis no leſſe, that he reſtrains the madneſſe of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar to paſſe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority. Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the honour and freedome of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions to my ſelf and my Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague; but a quotidian Feaver, always increaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe feares, which ſome men feared themſelves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude People, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All

All obſtructions in Parliament, (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, & all rottenMembers (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out; By theſe the obſtinacie of men, reſolved to diſcharge their conſciences, muſt be ſubdued; By theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament, but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their inviters and incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow, to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome, countenanced, encouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the publike good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens paſſions, and Gods directions, ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuitable engines: ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods meanes. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities; ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance. God in his due time will let theſe

ſee,

ſee that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it: ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety, to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe more formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and meſſages ſent by my ſelf, and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacie proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any Order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure and puniſh the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults, as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſmen) owned them as friends, commending their courage, zeal and induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devoure*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of honour; nor yet from my ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults, and ſecuring not only our freedome in Parliament, but our very Perſons in the ſtreets: I thought my ſelf not bound, by my preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped

by

by my withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity for any man for popular terrors to deſert his publike ſtation, but J thinke it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelfe againſt the breaking in of a ſea, which to reſiſt at preſent threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field in an orderly way, then ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when J went from *Whitehall* only to redeeme my Perſon, and Conſcience from violence,) God knows I did not then thinke of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive, that J would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned my ſelf, if J had purpoſed to ingage in a War, which to decline by all means, J denyed my ſelfe in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident J had then no Army to flie unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury or diſcontent might ſtie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is my ſole judge, is my witneſſe in Heaven, that J never had any thoughts of going from my houſe at *Whitehall*, if J could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but J did not thinke my ſelfe bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable

capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancie.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults, (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living, knows themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I thinke it beſt to leave it as it is; only I beleeve the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution ſet full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Honour and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments and Plebeian concourſes to publike Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, that had I called this Parliament to any othe Place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have don) the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humors as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

*But thou O Lord art my refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely fly, who reſt the raging of the Sea,*

*and*

*and the madneſſe of the People.*

*The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.*

*I look upon my ſins, and the ſins of my People, (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to over-beare all the banks of loyalty, modeſty, Lawes, Juſtice, and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place and madeſt the dry land to appeare, and after didſt aſſwage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.*

*Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments; make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of order and counſel.*

*What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent juſtice can and will.*

*O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou know'ſt guilty of raiſing, or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.*

*Set bounds to our paſſions by reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Lawes duly executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy* Ieruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

*This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake,* Amen.

---

## V. *Upon his Majesties passing the Bill for th Trienniall Parliaments: And after setlin this, during the Pleasure of the two Houses*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in m purposes at first, to contribute what in Justic Reason, Honour and Conscience I could, to th happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in n no other designe but the generall good of my King doms) I willingly passed the Bill for Trienni'all Par liaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Phys'ck might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially if the re medy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses, for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands, such is some mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compasse publike affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, & lock the door upon all present jealousies and future mistakes, I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, it was an act unparalle'd by any of my Predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that my subjects would not make ill use of an

Act,

Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good ſubjects will never think it juſt or fit that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe as with earneſtneſſe, to deſire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherin my intereſt lies more then any mans, ſince by thoſe laws, my rights as a King would be preſerved no leſſe than my ſubjects, which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt ſubject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of honour. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted my ſelf undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirme the love of my people.

Of which, I do not yet diſpaire, but that God will ſtill bleſſe me with increaſe of it: when men ſhall have more leiſure and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now only miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loyall and cleared affections of my people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of honour, and love to me

or

on my Posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them, which God knows have been neither few, nor small, nor short, occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly my subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, that which some men would needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my owne and my Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undo what by my Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in me, so farre to bind my own hands at their request; if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows though I had then a sense of injuries, yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my selfe by their not using favours, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred: The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly

ly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knowes I longed for nothing more, then that my ſelf and my ſubjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of ſin, as well as of hazard and diſhonour, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the ſword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my ſubjects contents, and mine own too in all probability; if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of my own heart, in paſſing that great Bill which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; that although I may ſeem leſſe a Polititian to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in my own ſoule, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me down head-long.

Concluding that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelfe, together with me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, that as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, if they could be at once enjoyned by them, are not worth the gaining by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazzards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made me to ſee, that it is no ſtrange thing for men left to their own paſſions, either to do much evill themſelvs, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflection upon, it as a ſinne of my will, though an errour of too charitable a Iudgment: Only I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil becauſe mine were good.

*To thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.*

*Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to my ſubjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.*

*Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſsing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.*

*Let thy Grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.*

*I ſee, while I thought to allay others feares, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled my ſelf.*

*Thus have they requited me evill for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.*

*O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits my returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.*

*'Tis eaſie for thee to keep me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevaile upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.*

*But no favours from me can make others more guilty then my ſelf may be, of miſuſing theſe many and great ones, which thou O Lord, haſt conferred on me.*

*I beſeech Thee give me and them ſuch repentance, as*

*thou*

*thou wilt accept, and ſuch grace as we may not abuſe.*

*Make me ſo far happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of me to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure upon my offences againſt thee.*

*So, although by my ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comforts of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt ſufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.*

---

## VI. *Upon his Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall are forced by ſea to a ſtorm: yet beter do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till J was driven away by ſhame more then feare, to ſee the barbarous rudenes of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either my ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion my caſe alone, (though chiefly mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over voted by the major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedome, Whoſe agreeing votes were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to my judgement; nor can they include or carry with them my conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind: Nor am J further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then J ſee them agree with the will of God, with my juſt Rights as a King, and the generall good of my People. J ſee, that as many men they are ſeldome of

one mind; and I may oft ſee that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bils, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: if ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more, by how much more they drank, whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome: ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Councell, when not Reaſon is uſed as to men to perſwade, but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to whatever tumultuary Patrones ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his ſoul, and liberty of his will and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdom ſo conſiderable, as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedome: which cannot be denied me as a King, becauſe it belongs to me as a man and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to conſent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which ſubjects me only to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion he directs me: then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive me of the liberty of uſing

my reaſon with a good conſcience, which themſelves and all the Commons of *England*, enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged not to deny whatever my ſelf as King, or the Houſe of Peers with me, ſhould not ſo much deſire, as enjoyn them to paſſe, I think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by my governing only by ſuch *Laws*, as my People with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and my ſelf have conſented to: I ſhall never think my ſelfe conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt my conſcience as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which my reaſon in Juſtice, Honour and Religion bid me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Grvernment, (that is the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves gives no conſent,) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the only man; that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left him to uſe his owne Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were, (as ſome have ſuſpected and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe or wilfulneſſe, and what they call obſtinacy in me, (which not true judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion have fixed on my mind,) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of ſlavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate detruſions of violence to have the miſt of his error and paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man; who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; if a Pilot at ſea

cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe, by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appeare to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of reaſon and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councels and Propoſals. I may in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, proteſt before God and Men; that I never wilfully oppoſed or denyed any thing that was in a faire way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houſes, further then I thought in good reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe me more, then when my Judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them; yea, in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſſity of reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honor was to be conſidered. I choſe rather to deny my ſelf then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for my Peoples good; before what I ſaw but convenient for my ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from my own intereſts and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive my ſelf to be maſter; but in what concernes Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdoms, (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain my conſent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie? nor will I be brought to affirme that to men, which in my Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of gold, (wch is due to me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any factions: when in ſtead of

rea-

reaſon and publike concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to preferre his Conſcience before his Kingdomes.

*O my God preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; for this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintaine: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and our wils to thine; whoſe wiſedome and goodneſſe can neither erre nor miſguide us, and ſo farre to deny our carnal reaſon in order to our ſacred miſteries and commands, that we ſhould believe and obey, rather then diſpute them; yet doſt thou expect from us only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee againſt our conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Lawes, which are the Rules of civil Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that only which our Judgments approve.*

*Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent did call me.*

*My People can witneſſe how far I have been content for their good, to deny my ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſall.*

*O let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them, by my conſent, in thoſe things which I think in my conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.*

*Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities,*

*and injuries they preſſe upon me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt my Conſcience.*

*Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of my ſoul.*

*Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favours in the power of a Chriſtian King; ſuffer me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens paſſions and deſigns, which to me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.*

*Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.*

*Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice: for theſe, I know, will bring me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for thee I have much trouble among men,*

*That I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.*

---

## VII. *Upon the Queens departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at my Wifes departure from me, and out of my Dominions: yet not her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſity which drives her away, doth afflict me. That ſhe ſhould be compelled by my own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear, ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther

farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away, and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her jndgment: since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion, for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry, my relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*, while their rudeness and barbarity knowes not so perfectly to hate all vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious, as to hate her for her self: The fault is, that she is my Wife.

All justice then, as well as affection, commands me to study her security, who is only in danger for my sake: I am content to be tossed, weather beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety, in the midst of my personal dangers; That I can perish but half, if she be preserved: in whose memory, and hopefull posterity, I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satisfied with my blood.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of my good Subjects; and to His protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to them, by those, who in all duty and Allegiance ought to have made good that safety which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for

any relation (to a King to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity and impudence.

Her ſympathy with me in my afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtarres in the darkeſt night; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves Me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive; ſince we do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelfe puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt us; and thoſe of our own houſhold are become our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee them to ſin againſt their benefactours as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour to ſeek to drive her out of my kingdoms; leaſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God and my own heart, whence no malice can baniſh her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my ſelf.

Thou

*Thou O Lord, whose justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at last to thy heavenly kingdome.*

*Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.*

*Though we differ in some things as to Religion, which is my greatest temporall infelicity; yet Lord, give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.*

*Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.*

*Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publike relations, and our souls eternal good; and make us careful to do, what good we know.*

*Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief or disobedience to what we know, be our misery, or our wilfull default.*

*Let not this great scandal of those my Subjects which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardening of her in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.*

*Let mine, and other mens constancie, be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.*

*Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.*

*Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as thine; that she may believe, love, and obey them as thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.*

*That in the Glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.*

*The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatneſſe, in our ſcatterings and Eclipſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelfe, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.*

---

## VIII. *Vpon his Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that my greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loſſe of my Kingdoms.

God knowes, it affected me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for my ſelfe; nor did the affront done to me trouble me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contein themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy Act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdome, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For tis among the wicked maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers. That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retread more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This

This gave me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometimes ſmother then oyle, but now I ſaw they would prove very ſwords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good conſcience, thought it my beſt policy with patience to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdaine, or emotion of paſſion tranſported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming my ſelf, or unſutable to that temper, which in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King; for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man more then his greateſt enemies can, for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged my cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed, by any language or ſecret imprecation of mine, only blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickednes, and falling from one inconſtancy to another not long after paies his own and his eldeſt ſons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then

then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successefull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacie unto Loyalty, some men account the most impardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn: The cutting off one mans head in a family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Commonweal. The eldest son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the father, against the Father of his Country. Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy. God knows, *I* was so far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were such as were able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowreness which some men pretend to in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models of what they call Religion; who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of Ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him, is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance

tance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their juſtice, and not my mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemencie a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman! he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous Diſloyalty; teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwayes its own vengeance as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal and implacable executioners of it, who were the firſt imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower hill?* though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actione; which, beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not ingaged in the factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

*But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it; for his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſin againſt thee.*

*Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.*

Thou

*Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine owne hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.*

*I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.*

*Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects & opportunities of my mercie; yea, let them live and amend, who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy mercie hath forgiven me.*

*Lord, lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terror to all.*

*Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.*

*That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.*

*And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth, meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.*

*Heare my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake, who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.*

*6. Upon*

## *IX. Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the King.*

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was when they forced me to leave *White hall*; what tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: my receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a ſoul invincible through Gods grace enabling me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give me ſuch a meaſure of conſtancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my conſcience, before any outward tranquility.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my ſoule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe as to Truth and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks I am to receive, for thoſe many Acts of grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choyce for a King, that loves his people, and deſires their love either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men, driving on their private

private ends; or the peeviſhneſſe of others, envying the Publike ſhould be managed without them; or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State; then any propenſity (I hope) of my ſelf, either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent blood, during my Reign, have I ſhed, to ſatisfie my luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with my own blood? for the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any reſpect of perſons.

In vain is my Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt me with ſwords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this war againſt me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnatural a motion; which to many men ſeems rather the production of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, ambition and faction, (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrel) then any real obſtructions of publike Juſtice, or Parliamentary priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in my conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *white-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolencie of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in reaſon can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſſe both mine and the two Houſes freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans conſcience) What obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another.

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament? That

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatened to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appeare, where they evidently ſee the current of juſtice and Freedome ſo ſtoped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeeme ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publike *odium*, was enough to ruine them, before their cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious tumults, overborn the freedome and honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their conſciences: I know no man ſo deare to me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe ſentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a heighth, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be overaw'd with tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or Preſence, the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinſſee againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes: to whom I wiſhed nothing more then ſafety, fulneſſe and freedome.

But

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations and Votes to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places and undoubted priviledges in the Houſe of Peers carried for them by far the major part of Lords: yet after five repulſes, contrary to all order and cuſtome, it was by Tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, as the Bill againſt Root & Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmatical Terrors; which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, my Conſcience forbids me, by conſenting, to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament: I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard my own, and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God & the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it: Mine much more: who, beſides the grounds I have in my Judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict & indiſpenſible Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve that Order and the Rights of the Church. To which moſt ſacrilegious and abhorred perjury, moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my conſent

b

be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath or can befall me, inaſmuch as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I granted their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with my conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government and Revenues, to the fury of their covetouſneſſe, ambition and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army, to fetch in and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firme perſwaſion of their contentednes to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights and Honour, for my ſake and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdome. That I cannot adde my conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon my conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall, and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with or deſtroyed; when what is only of civil Favour, and priviledge of Honour, granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a War, being only ſuch as Iuſtice, Reaſon and Religion had made in my owne and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt me, wher-

in

in I was ſo far from preventir g them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and juſtice of the defenſive part, and load me with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knowes, J had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with honour and freedome becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their conſciences: J had obtained all that J deſigned by my withdrawing; and had much more willingly and ſpeedily returned, then J retired: this being my neceſſity driving, the other my choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, J was like to bring the ſame judgment and conſtancy, which J carried with me, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited me to come, and grievouſly complained of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities; which yet in all rea'on and honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt me, is by the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of

con-

conſequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of law, or order of juſtice. But among other leſſer innovations, this chiefly was urged, the abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of *Presbyterian* Government.

All other things at any time propounded, were either impertinent, as to any ground of a war, or eaſily granted by me, and only to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall or acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation, and Religion, I might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my conſent: and this in truth, as to my conſcience I who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on my ſide, I do not thinke my innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe my prayer to him.

*For thou, O Lord ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humaine affaires; thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy omniſcience eternally guides thy unerroble judgement.*

*O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet thee before their eyes.*

*Conſider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred, without a cauſe.*

*For thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſigne, or prepa-*

*ration*

ration to embroyl my kingdoms in a civill war; where I had leaſt temptation: as knowing we muſt adventure more then any, and could gaine leaſt of any by it.

Thou O lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot wel be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my ſubjects bloud, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to beare the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the war, will needs perſwade the World that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of mine enimyes, and redceme my people from this miſerable War; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt, my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counſels.

Save, O Lord thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelfe, becauſe of the rage of mine enemies, which encreaſeth more and more; Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chiefe deſigne of this war is, either to deſtroy my perſon, or force my judgement, and to make me renege my conſcience and thy truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though

*(though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroy me, then thou ſhouldſt damn me.*

*Be thou ever the defence of my ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.*

*If nothing but my blood will ſatisfie my enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal juſtice; I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects hands.*

*But ô let the blood of me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction, both for my ſinnes, and the ſinnes of my people; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they do.*

---

## X. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil war; the eyes that only pity me, and the loyall hearts that durſt only pray for me, at firſt, might witneſſe; which yet appeare not ſo many on my ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me. My unpreparedneſſe for a War, may well diſhearten thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight; yet it teſtifies for me that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their proreption.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented me in the purpoſes as well as their injuries, who are ſo muc aforehand in their Preparations againſt me, and ſu prizals of my ſtrength. Such as are not for them, y dare not be for me; ſo overaw'd is their Loyalty b the others numbers and terrours. I beleeve my inn cency and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights an Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteem who would not ſo eaſily have declared a war again me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Armes left me; were tho only, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to u againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. The may ſerve a good mans turne, if not to conquer as Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, & ſurprizing my Caſtles Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the *Militia*, is ſo far beſ for me, that it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into th Protection of the living God, who can ſave by few o none as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurprizall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia*, ſo much in refereene to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of force and power, *I* have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my friends, and a terrour to my enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one or ſuppreſſe the other.

For

For thus have they designed and proposed to me the new moddelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomets* tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the power and priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe, the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seeke wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot wel digest it: Soveraign power in subjects seldom agreeing with the stomacks of fellow-subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by deprivig my self of a sole power to help, or hurt any yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shal think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them of me, and to live above all jealousies of them as to my self: I desire not to be safer then I wish them and my people. If I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my people, further then they protected me and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my subjects, since power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a

way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of mine, as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be enemies not to me only, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors forbid me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to eccliſpe my own beams, to ſatisfie their feares, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to my Subjects, whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future, ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a ſhew to the people to have more eyes to foreſee, ſo they will find it hath more mouths too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where Counſel may be in many as the Senſes, but the Supreme power can be but in one as the Head:

Happily where men have tried the horrours and ma-

malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition, and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeſt light from me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſings of the Suns light.

And if at preſent J may ſeem by my receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which J am ſworn for my Peoples protection; J conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury (if ſo it may ſeem,) who compel me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my ſubjects by expoſing my ſelf to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet. Which in the Conflicts of Civil war, and advantages of power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding: To which the greateſt love of the publike peace and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſſefull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the ſword and *Militia*, which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtrokes of Divine vengeance which will overtake; or of mens conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which Providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my peoples tranquility, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; & he is able by his being w^th^ me, abundantly to compenſate to me as he did to *Job*, whatever honor, power or liberty, the Caldeans, Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive me of. Although they take from me all defence o Arms & *Militia*, all refuge by land of Forts & Caſtles

all flight by Sea, in my Ships and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to heaven.

*Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.*

*There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.*

*Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are incouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.*

*Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.*

*If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety and proſperity, behold here I am, willing to be reduced to what thou will have me, whoſe judgements oft being with thine owne children. I am content with nothing, that thou mayeſt be all.*

*Thou haſt taught me, that no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt, but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.*

*Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not feare what man can do unto me.*

*I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.*

*O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my ſoule!*

*By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject; and juſtly mayeſt thou, by my own ſubjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.*

*But ſhew thy ſelfe O my hope and only Refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God. Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſtep ſlip not. Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.*

*Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.*

*From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.*

*Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.*

---

## XI. *Vpon the 19. Propoſitions firſt ſent to the King; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, *I* am glad to ſee at what price they ſet my owne ſafety and my Peoples peace; which J cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave only the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe wil ſatisfie, J muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious, as my enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to me, have been offered by me, Others are eaſily granted, The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me with the point of the ſword, nor urged w^th the injuries of a war; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my conſcience: 'tis ſtrange there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my ſoul.

Here are many things required of me: but I ſee nothing offer'd to me by the way of grateful exchang of Honour, or any requital for theſe favours I have or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine: They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelfe the incommunicable Jewel of my Conſcience, and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to me, and while I have any Maſtery of my Reaſon; how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian My yielding ſo much as I have already, makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples Peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my conſcience; which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſometime to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands and importunities.

But to bind my ſelf to a generall and implicite conſent, to whatever they ſhall deſire or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſedome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Samſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his owne hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his owne eyes, that the Philiſtines might

might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they chuſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning, who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of reaſon to Conſent and Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my right belonging to me, in Reaſon as a man, and in Honour as a Soveraigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be any other then extreame injury, to confine my reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask; whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aimes may be, and their qualities are: which laſt God and the laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, & them my Subjects; whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gaine to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, and abandon my owne diſcretion, that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the

Counſell of others; But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soule, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their owne and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part of) theſe Propounders are; ſo that till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed me, how well they can govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very foliſh indeed, and unfaithfull in my truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of mine own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu's*, and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the Throne of Supremacy, pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember that at beſt they ſit in Parliament as my Subjects, not my Superiours, called to be my Counſellors not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent me, I expected either ſome good Laws which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution, or ſome evill cuſtomes præterlegall and abuſes perſonall, had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by my ſelf and others to the Common-weale were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to me; wherein the advantages of my Crown, being

being donſidered by them, might fairly induce me to condeſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon and Religion bind me (in the firſt place) to preſerve, without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my People according to my place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was indeed amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdome and piety of former *Parliaments*, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches, the rights and priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed; which might at once reach the good end of the others inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Lawes diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any Right invaded; of any Juſtice to be un-obſtructed; of any Compenſations to be made; of any impartial Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true *Policie*, or any other humane motives might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty: I perceive, that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, & Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confi-

dence, by vulgar clamours and assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Lawes against them, and a total extirpation of that Government whose rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments, free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both Houses (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use, and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government, and the Mis government; the Primitive patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine cre-

credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtreame of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policy, to improve to their innovating deſigns, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt my perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome me, further then I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the wardſhip of the Tumults (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of thoſe men who hunt after Factious and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my judgment tell me, that the Propoſitions ſent to me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well, as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit *I* ſhould uſe their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſedome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability, as to exclude my ſelf; ſince none of them hath that part to

act,

Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve, as my ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publike wiſdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me, then this is; That they are not the joint and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to ſit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, maſked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſors dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo farre to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire and effect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries: ſome thirſting after nothing more, then a paſſionate revenge of whatever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change, to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State, command me to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down. If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down

down ſuch Camels, as others do, of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man; they have no more cauſe to quarrel with me, then for this, That my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgment to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this was to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſel of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

*O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdome is fortified with omnipotency; furniſh thy Servant, firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice in my underſtanding; then ſo confirm my Will and Reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or preſſions of my enemies, may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my conſcience.*

*Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a Man, and not dare to ſay yea or nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denyed to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.*

Shall

*Shall that be blameable in me which is commendable veracity and constancy in others.*

*Thou seest O Lord, with what partiality and injustice they deny that freedome to me their KING, which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their previledges.*

*To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed labyrinths of our own thoughts and other mens proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in waite to afflict me.*

*O Lord, make thy way plaine before me.*

*Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.*

*Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.*

*I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; if I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease.*

*Thou that makest the wisedome of the world foolishnes, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my kingdomes generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or deminution of me.*

*The losse wisedome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisedome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denyed out of any fear, or flattery of men.*

*Suffer me not to be guilty or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publike good, while I confirme them by my consent.*

Nor

*Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the Publike of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.*

*Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publike good, of whoſe affections to me I have yet but few evidences to aſſure me.*

*Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent councels.*

*Since we muſt give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me carefull of thoſe ſolemn declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the publike, either for woe or weale.*

*The leſſe others conſider what they ask, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.*

*Though mine own, and my peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord, never ſuffer me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expence or waſte of my Conſcience; whereof thou O Lord only art deſervedly more maſter then my ſelf.*

---

## XII. *Vpon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious author or inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out as a moſt unhappy advantage of ſome mens malice

malice againſt me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſinne againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelf, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of *Papiſts*. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their Duty toward me, I muſt beare the blame: This honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trials either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my affliction; charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all *Policie*, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of my Subjects;

in

in whose common welfare my interest lies as much, as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well, but in evill times; nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*: where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a People prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of Liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as *I* can with Truth wash my hands in innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so J might wash them in my tears, as to the sad apprehensions J had, to see it spread so far, and make such wast. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies, here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designes they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanly butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf. I offered to go my ſelf in perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted: or loth they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelfe; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction, but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities not only to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communities of that Nation, reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children, without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for ſex and age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical zeal, is too like that of the rebuked diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the father both blamed and curſed. Chuſing rather to uſe all extremeties, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, then to apply moderate remedies: ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the fury of thoſe,

who

who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe, and had rather be cruell, then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficial, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*, (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here: I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a Ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped, God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of honour and integrity, that ſo I might neither encourage the Rebels inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants loyalty and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs, would then permit. I was then to ſuffer again in my Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite, could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages, (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety: If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on

by

by thoſe, that had better skill to let blood then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions (which are prone to find more credulity in men, to what is falſe and evill, then love or charity to what is true and good) as J have no Judge but God above me, ſo J can have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to my own conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my truſt as a *King*; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a fornace; much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If J can but act the one, J ſhall not much regard to beare the other.

J thank God J can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And J hope J ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire or deſerve J ſhould.

J beleeve it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) J look upon as that of my other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it as my ſelf; And J hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *it is enough*: and command the ſword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf;

ſelfe; his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

*O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abuſed and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.*

*Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.*

*Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortal hatred to riſe among us.*

*O Lord forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered,*

*Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeeme ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appeare to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.*

*O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove the judgements, which are very many, and very heavy.*

*Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdomes.*

*In the ſea of our Saviours blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace, and Plenty.*

*As my publicke relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſuffering; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.*

Let

*Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion: Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, and hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.*

*O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in* Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

*And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truth whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles which they act under an opinion that they do thee good ſervice.*

*Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, and fomented theſe cruell and deſperate wars.*

*Thou that art far from deſtroying the innoce with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; thou that hadſt pity on* Niniveh *for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe whoſe coveteouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

*Preſerve if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſcvere juſtice, a Poſterity which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.*

*And deale with me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.*

*If I have deſired or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me and my Fathers Houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well. But I truſt not to my own merit,*

*rit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.*

---

## XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not only common ties of nature, Soveraignty and bounty with my Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpeciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active ſpirits among them ſo farre, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that party before my own Intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royall bounty emboldens ſome men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratitude.

My charity and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude or inconſtancy, make me repent of what I granted them for the publike good: I pray God it may ſo prove.

The coming againe of that Party into *England* with an Army, only to conforme this Church to their late new Modell, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Preſbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which deſigne and end whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom or that?

Such

Such knots and crosneſſe of graine being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Forme which they cry up, as the onely juſt Reformation and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacie, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeeme either paſſion, or ſome ſelfe ſeeking more then true zeale and pious diſcretion, for any forraigne State or Church, to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations: That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitutions of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler Applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out Religious Reformation by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concernd in the differences, whom Force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one; For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conforme to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence: and for other mens conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars

lars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion, those truths gaine most on mens judgements and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rationall conviction hath beene applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them: at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my subjects, commission by the sword to set it up in any of my kingdoms, without my consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paied to the chiefe Governours of States; where they lived is very cleare in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a Supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others: and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions runs in a streame so contrary to that of the primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shed-

ding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens, ſure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitution were carried on, or begun with the temptation of covetouſneſſe or Ambition, of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move me with, by their many ſolemne obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but only this, to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſſity of ſetting up their Preſbytery in *England* to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſigne at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſmes or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe and render odious under thoſe names: when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme then this Presbyterian way both as to the Ancient and ſtill moſt univerſall way of the Church-Government, and eſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Conſtitution of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the Succeſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes, (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good: which I think my ſelfe ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend with the moſt judicious zeale and care, we

how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine own: and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle my Religion, nor any mans else who knowes what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall subject, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions: especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my subjects Armes and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles and Cities by Land

But I finde that men jealous of the Justificablenesse of their doings, and designes before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry

their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; What cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: What one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns, at once deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſcipline, (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod, which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice and mans folly, will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Polititians wrap up their deſigns: in vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty: nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of letting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never diſerted me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me in a prodigality of their love and reſpect towards me, as to make me to deſpair of their return, when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience which they have to me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſervile ableneſ

ableneſſe to any party of the People; to a neglect and betraying of my ſafety and honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

*The troubles of my ſoule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſſe.*

*Lord, direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.*

*Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves innocency.*

*Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile againſt my ſoule to the betraying of my Conſcience, and Honour.*

*Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of* Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David, *with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe to purſue Him.*

*Preſerve the love of thy Truth, and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not diſpaire of my Subjects affections returning towards Me.*

*Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the over-flowing ſeas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.*

*O my God I truſt in thee, let me not be aſhamed: let not my enemies triumph over me.*

*Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe: let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule.*

*Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee: O Lord.*

*Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.*

---

## *XIV. Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will in-

duce them to ingage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions, are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy: This they make the grand evill spirit, which with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the vulgar, must by so solemne a charme and exorcisme be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it; Presbytery, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chaire and Authority, (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*, which was lately boyed in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many Passages in that Covenant (some referring to my selfe with very dubious & dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline & Government of the Church: and such a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be ingaged by no lesse then swearing for, or against those things which are of no clear morall necessity, but very disputable and controverted amongst learned and godly men: whereto the application of oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in one self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses faire and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable. The

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable: and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former, religious and legall Engagement, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the popularity faſt to their parties under the terrour of perjury: Where as certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance and Laws to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without my conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans Laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all my Subjects conſciences, both to God and me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charity to thinke that the chiefe end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and meanes they cannot thinke themſelves ingaged; nor will thoſe that have any true touches of conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes; under that title of the Covenant; unleſſe they

dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable both to God and my Self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant are yet firme to this Judgement, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their ſouls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious & powerful perturbations of State or Church: when formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety, are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſibie degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humors of thoſe men, who aime to ſubdue all to their owne will and power, under the diſguiſes of holy Combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens Conſciences no longer then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the Commands of Gods Word, or the Lawes of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terror of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed ſuch illegall ways ſeldome or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their

Covenants

Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſigne intended.

I ſee, the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna, (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not their chief Deſigne, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming increaſe to their Party: ſo little do men remember that *God is not mocked.*

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty; who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome general Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them; as of *doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, & according to the Word of God.* For, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods lawes, as to the generall, or the Lawes of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God, ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhnes of taking it: which muſt needs then appeare, when, beſides

ſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyaltie, as can neither hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publike Peace: againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends; I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines (of ſo ſelf and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgement, profeſſion and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of Learning and Candor at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now facti-ouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward then my ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe. I have offered more, then ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Presbyterie and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their Legal Rights, then the Biſhops, and Church men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deere, muſt be deſtroyed: the other Raſcal-

Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which factious men ſteere their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with my conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious munificence of my Predeceſſors hath given to God & the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive me or mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts lands; which both *Pharaoh's* Divinity, and *Joſephs* true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the ſtraw, and increaſe the task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of a Civil war, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either it or him, who eſteems it his greateſt title to be called, and his chiefeſt glory to be *the Defender of the Church, both in its true faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſor *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Alms; then violently to

take

take the bread out of the Biſhops & Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation conſecrating the meaneſt of the people to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſt, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it wil be here, when from the tuition of Kings & Queens, which have been nurſig Fathers and Motkers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envie and rapine of the Churches rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State, Since I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not uſe the other.

There are wayes enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church, as I would be a reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publike Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor mine, may be acceſſary to either.

*To thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe my prayer, Beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my ſubjects ſwearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſcien-*

ces; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeale of abhorring idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of Religious tyes.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and Sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posterity of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my debts increased; yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations: lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publike, which some mens folly and Prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us: The Church is never likely, in times where the charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall,

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the Justice of the Laws are due unto them: & give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory and relief of the poore: That thy Priests may be clothed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

*Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs: rather let them go about the City, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.*

*Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them nor theirs; Let them be as* Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their consciences.*

*Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.*

*Divide their hearts and tongues who have handyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.*

*But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarry.*

---

## XV. *Upon the many Iealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not my own Innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth, and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly lose my Crowns, then my Credit; nor are my Kingdomes so deare to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love, and gratitude among posterity.

Those

Thoſe foul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, my enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to me, as the ſin and danger of my Peoples ſouls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſoon miſled into the moſt deſperate precipies of actions: wherein they do not only not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroyers; imagining they then feare God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt me, as to exclude my moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more then their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt Religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errors, not my Perſon; and intended to mend me, not to end me: And I hope that God, pardoning their errours, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared me, both to do him better ſervice, and my People more good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to my own Affections toward

ward the generality of my people, to ſuſpect theirs to me: nor ſhall the malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me: I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade me to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of my Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Etroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The ſenſe of the injuries done to my Subjects, is as ſharp as thoſe done to my ſelf, our welfares being inſeparable: in this only they ſuffer more then my ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my enemies, that I be afflicted: but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that my afflictions grieve me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it: but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided intereſts of their & mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather increaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruine, then Rule over them: nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſſe: if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhono-

dishoneurably to betray my own just Rights and Soveraignty, thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of my Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelti e, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good invention, that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve me to bear, and my charity to forgive, then my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

Did I not more consider my Subjects satisfaction, then my owne vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will (I believe) in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on me: And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them: whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heate and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

Firſt, nothing gave me more cause to suspect,

and

and ſearch my own innocency, then when J obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety: For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon me, and my Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of me, and not to blaſpheme him: ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to me, and truly religious toward God.

Not but that J had (J thank God) many with me, which were both learned and religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my ſuffering, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with me, then forſake me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious pretenſions as were uſed againſt me, ſhould be to many wel-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe me; eſpecially being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize me and mine: they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as falſe.

J thank God, J have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do J know any exception J am ſo liable to in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Reli-

Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon me and my people.

Contrary to thoſe well-tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning and clearer Zeal have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm & unpaſſionate times have oft confirmed; in which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it; eſpecially thoſe, who leaſt of all men cared whom they employed, or what they ſaid and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of duty, allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owe as men and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond they owe to me in common as their King. Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot any more (then in Civil trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes. And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice, (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was Indeed a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce me, a declared

declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend my ſelfe.

Nor did *I* more then is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance then many Proteſtant Profeſſors, who ſeem to have learned, and to practice the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Jndeed it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to my enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in my ſubjects, when J was diſputed with by ſwords points: and when J needed the help of my ſubjects, as men, no leſſe then their Prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of my evil Counſellors was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their own, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving me better counſel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom as a man; or honour as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred downe, then a draught which might be fairly and leaſurely drank, if J liked it.

J will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties my ſelf, or my Counſellors: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormous extravagancies, wherewith ſome men have now even wildred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my ſubjects, that had J followed the worſt Counſels that my worſt Counſellors ever had the boldneſſe to offer to me, or my ſelf any inclination to uſe; J could

could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdoms, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done, out of which they cannot or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then J was to redres what J ſaw in reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe: and this J thought J had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorry to ſee me prone even to injure my ſelfe; out of a zeal to releeve my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon me, my Court and my Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractations or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended *Perſecutions*, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of chriſtian patience, which attend humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to with-draw my Peoples affections from me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not made prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

Jf the Divineſt Liberty be to will what men ſhould, and do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes and Religion, I envy not my Subjects that Liberty, which is all J deſire to injoy my ſelfe; ſo farre am J from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted me, ſo prodigall of their Liberties, as with their

Lives

Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civil immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others, their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time wil feel beſt inform my ſubjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws both divine under humane: and which yet I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſciencious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens conſciences: and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publike peace.

The

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their owne merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times: which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent: and my ſelfe expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and increaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as mine innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object: ſo my reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times,) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will do me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe and evill ſpeeches againſt me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what they beleeve or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets, (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames,) then thoſe men do, who, pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and me: by no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the Precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evill of Dignities, and bring*

*bring railing accusations against those*, who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing *God*, should not honour their *King*.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity: yet hath he graven such characters of Divine Authority and sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the shining of my face, while God gives me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the Traditions of true Glory and Majesty.

*Thou, O Lord knowest my reproach and my dishonour, my adversaries are all before thee.*

*My soule is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of Men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.*

*Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.*

*O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? How long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?*

*Thou hast heard the reproaches of wiked men on every side. Hold not thy Peace, lest my enemies prevaile against me, and lay my Honour in the dust.*

*Thou, O Lord, shall destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty & deceitful man.*

*Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.*

*Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence; nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again, and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.*

Thou

*Thou that wouldst not suffer* Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgment on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give Me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire may not be brought upon them.*

*Let My prayers and patience be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.*

*Let Me be happy to Refute and put to silence their evill-speaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My prayer for their repentance and thy pardon.*

*Teach Me* David's *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.*

*Let* Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *cursing provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Me.*

*Though they curse, doe thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.*

*That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.*

*Look down from heaven, and save Me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.*

*Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep Me from the strife of tongues.*

---

## 16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Comon-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undoe what ever

was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People then to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying al the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objection they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt

ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compos'd Liturgy, (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſs.

I could never ſee any reaſon why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Savior, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their owne invention and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the Lords Prayer; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions, or in Publick prayer, or in any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very ſervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayer more likely to flat and hinder the ſpirit of Prayer and Devotion, then unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſtere gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions: yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurent gifts of many learned and godly men, ſuch as the compoſers of the Service-Book were: who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) that any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have: which, that they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinencie, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſs, levitie, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſs, and oft times blaſphemons expreſſions (all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable lenghth) do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an impudent ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay in things of ſo ſacred

cred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtil the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty as Forms of publick compoſure: or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions, when the ſubject is the ſame: which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity becoming thoſe duties: which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders and defects, both for judgment and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and piety of the ancient Churches to remedie thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which, I beleeve this Church wil ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſms, diſorders and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

How-ever, if violence muſt needs bring in and abett thoſe Innovations (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Liturgie;

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-

book, or refuſed to uſe it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Biſheps, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common Prayer Book publikely, although their Conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and obedience to the lawes.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplins, when they may have leave to ſerve me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates leaſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as by lawes, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the People by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more conſiderable men; not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe

they

they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-prayer Booke, I beleeve was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay Amen, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own former, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſh ment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholeſom words.

*And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denyeſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and dayly wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions,*

*Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.*

*Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us:*

*And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions to them both.*

*Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pitty and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.*

*Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities*

An-

*And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truth in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with Errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That Constancy is the cause of Formality.*

*Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our owne hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with* David, *and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

*Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.*

*Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from effects of blinde Zeal, and over-bold Devotion.*

---

## 17. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it not so much out of piety, as policy and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change

change, that power and influence which is right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have else where given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspition, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in the House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till the late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new modles, and propose them under the specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turnes to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give me leave, having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estate) not to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new wayes contrary to the full and constant Testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, That all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed or so soon deviate from their divine and holy paterne: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and

Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and Government they were.

Whoſe conſtant, and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſettling of that Govenment, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacrament in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the main ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſettling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident Biſhops above others in point of ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities & duties of Preſbyter Biſhops and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name was then, and may nòw not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in their ordinary power, here aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves

ſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of languages) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of Arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the Pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of thoſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleer teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that

that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds, both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſticall examples, whereon my judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality in affection, either to the men, or Function, which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects, be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I, and my deareſt relations with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt, upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches univerſal practice the beſt commentary; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly ſubordination among Presbyters or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianitie, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds confuſion and faction.

I can no more beleeve, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion as other men: For preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that, I conceive, it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed and enjoyed

enjoyed in thoſe times which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Precedency and Authority in one may by the joynt counſel and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe errours, corruptions and partialities which are incident to any one man: alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men: beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden and odium of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed, I think, it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magiſtrial; and wherein, not onely the neceſſity of avoiding faction and confuſion, emulations and contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known, I have endeavoured to ſatisfie my Self in what the chief Patrons for other ways can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as, far leſs of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo, for examples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute; wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivolet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then

then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquitie: I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except an handful of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Chuch-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in ſome point of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily delert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, as never Schiſmaticks nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Arrians) have ſtrayed from the Unity and conformity of the Church in that Point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laitie of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my judgment; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty: I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning and integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their conſciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the Point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contra-

ry

ry to their former Oathes and Practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt my conſent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of Parties over ſome mens judgments: of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the Scots Army coming into England.

But the folly of theſe men will at length puniſh it ſelf, and the deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt enemies to, and betrayers of their own Intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will find as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and all Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſs they are, when parted from the influence of that Head to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs: I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform what-ever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners hath brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar errour, to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times or perſons; which ſeditious and popular Principle and Practice, all wiſe men abhorr.

For

For thoſe ſecular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Eſtate, which my Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I look upon them but as juſt rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthnings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; which in peaceſull times is hardly paid to any Governours by the meaſure of their Vertues, ſo much, as by that of their Eſtates: Poverty and meanneſs expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perſecuting times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops as are moſt worthy of thoſe encouragements, and beſt able to uſe them; if at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my error venial; And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity and piety, no men of any worth or fore-head can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vicious oppoſition which is in all men, againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian Parity, which makes all Miniſters equall, and the Independent Inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my Judgment touching Epiſcopacy: wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence. and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their King and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavoured to

do,

do, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church may be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture: of which I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in a City or Country: or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted: and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that Power and Superiority they had above others: which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtil continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt, primitive, and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy, and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion: wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin then Sacriledge, or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets, through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagment above

above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my Judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to maintain that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function as Antichriſtian (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon with Judgment break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily, by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am ſworn; How can any man, that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondered how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tel Me, that my Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their Votes: yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of my Oath which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light and reaſon I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange, my lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injuricus and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls: yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my Self juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſs, and ſacrilegious Cruelty, torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civil Diſſentions, til I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I do approve what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in my Soul abhor, as many ways highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give my conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as wel as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can my late condeſcending to the Scots in point of Church-government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me to conſent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this: for what I think in my Judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhal impute my yeelding to them as my failing and ſin; I can eaſily acknowledge it: but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that Point: nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſsful, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect my Judgment to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſs of opinion: but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose paterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or, Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right Constitution

The Abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelties.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve me.

*For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse and tenderness, as Thou hast set Me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of Thy Church, so suffer Me not by any violence to be over born against My Conscience.*

*Arise O Lord, maintain Thine own Cause, let not Thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from Thy Apostles, have been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.*

*Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to Thy afflicted Church, which some men have wounded and robbed; others past by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.*

As

*As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.*

*Though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a King, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.*

*Preserve from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on Thy Church for thy Glory.*

*Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and subtill Foxes, to waste and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.*

*O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian King in this Kingdome who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse, then expose their Persons and sacred Function, to vulgar contempt.*

*Thou O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of Errours, Schismes, and disorders.*

*O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies:*

*That I and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.*

18. *Upon*

## 18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understanding then in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; hauing a greater consideration of my Reason, then my Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither my self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with Expresses of my desire: and even importunities to Treat: it being an office not only of Humanity, rather to use reason then Force; but also of Christianity *to seeck peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Armes; so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay the dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve, was mine Honour, and my Conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as farre as Reason, Honour,

Honour, and Conſcience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſential to My Peoples happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity, or proſperity: for they better enjoyed both many yeers, before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of which, to deny, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf and favor to My Subjects.

I ſee Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage, what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me, yet I was willing to condeſend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, to whom faction, covetouſneſſe or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeem to advance true pietie: I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government, and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſe where ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Governments, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolicall patern, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of exterpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs

argue

argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace; and rather loſe the Churches Honour, then croſſe ſome mens factious humour.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame for the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God and all unpaſſionate men who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions wherein I endeavourned no leſs the reſtauration of Peace to my People, then the preſervation of my Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condeſcendings as Arguments of feebleneſs, and glory moſt in an inflexible ſtiffneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them, was, always to ask ſomething which in reaſon & honor muſt be denied, that they might have ſom colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy my Self by dishonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſom mens further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the

the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat, which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſinnes juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained: what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

*O thou that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with ſinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf; who wanteſt not power, or juſtice to deſtroy them, yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of peace with thy ſelf; and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to war.*

*Condemn us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelvs and of others.*

*Clear up our underſtandings to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon as men, and in Religion as Chriſtians; and encline all our hearts to hold the Vnity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.*

*Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.*

*Remove the evils of War we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace which only Chriſt our great peacemaker can merit.*

## XIX. *Vpon the various events of the War: Victories and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy war, have at leaſt, afforded me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try me with Victory, by worſting my Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hoſts*, able when he pleaſes, to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe that fought againſt me, with ſo great advantage for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on my part, he let me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by my Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe my patience, and teach me not to truſt in the Arme of fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of my cauſe: and thoſe that were with me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and me: nor were my enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, that was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oftentimes over ballance the Juſtice of publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of Warre, a righteous cauſe; the more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Thoſe

Thoſe with me had (I thinke) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their owne Oaths, all requiring obedience to my juſt Commands, but to none other under heaven without me, or againſt me in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended fears, and wild fundamentals of State, (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent Fabrick, both of Church and State: being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelfe-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces; The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the ſword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes and Governours, which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not ſinde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome Paraſitcik Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, that glorious Title, can with truth be applyed only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in this world, who having no advantagious deſignes by any innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church and my ſelf, which lay upon their ſouls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not, but he did through his mercy crowne many of them with eternal [illegible] thoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a [illegible]

ction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſouls.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death, did through Gods grace effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life, then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſſe could deprive them of, or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better againſt my ſide in the Field, but never (J believe) at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces which ſometimes God gave me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, J make no queſtion but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies ſupervive: who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpitious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War and continuing it thus long againſt me, and the Law eſtabliſhed, in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

Fe

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on my ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loealty, and be as faithfull to God and their own ſouls, as they were to me: That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeaveurs of the other.

Yet I cannot think that any ſhewes, or truth of piety on the other ſide, were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyaltie to me; which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without my ſorrow, becauſe it was on my own Subjects, who like *Abſalom* died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories as might ſerve to conquer, but only reſtore the Laws and Liberties of my People, which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights, by thoſe men who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave me, or denyed me Victory, my deſire was, neither to boaſt of my power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute Conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others, then over my ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Juſtice, by contrary winds to winnow us: that by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace, ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of my innocency forbad me to fear a War: but the love of my Kingdomes commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War, of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their Power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude which became their Loyaltie, and my Confidence.

Had I yielded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings. The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet: We having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to deſtroy one another; for, the moſt proſperous Succeſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſins unſubdued; flushing out pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another: I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil

Civill Warres; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

*O my God make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.*

*Teach me the noblest victory over my Self, and my enemies, by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.*

*Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.*

*Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.*

*Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing, that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.*

*Thou, O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them, punishing my selfe in their punishments.*

*Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.*

*As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these Civil distractions, but a chiefe instrument to restore and establish a firm and a blessed peace to my Kingdoms.*

*Stirre up all parties, pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and self-denyall, as becoms those, who consider, that our mutual divisions are*

*our common diſtractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.*

*If O Lord, as for the ſinnes of our Peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of Warre; ſo for the ſins of Warre thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of Peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us nor take from us.*

*Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects which with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me; in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious bloud, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace maker Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeeme me ſhortly out of al my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.*

---

## XX. *Vpon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envyed then that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo farre, as to make me an inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

And I was well pleaſed with the Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times and corruptions of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick,

Publike, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schiſms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of me, have followed (as ſhowers do warm gleams,) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are witneſſes, and with my Self, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage (I think) is, That popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick ſenſe: ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels and endeavours, what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Councels; as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, I diſlike not, further then that they are not legally conveened and choſen: nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*: nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to doe and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men, cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as

to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolicall Inſtitution, at leaſt, as of Primitive and univerſal Practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrage, and if the influence of contrary factions had not by ſecret incroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their owne former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion, againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Lawes in force, and my Conſent; which is never to be gained againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my Underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo cleer and punctuall in Precepts, there the conſtant and univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive command, is the beſt rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbytery what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels; and ſuch (I beleeve) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſignes: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The

The ſpecious and popular Title of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt,) alſo the noiſe of a thorow Reformation; they may as eaſily be fined on new models, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God for that clearer Light wherein they live: The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publike Service of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay Amen: or what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five yeers conſultation had matured their thought touching the firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long.) But all this amounts not to, nor can in juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly and diſcontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity and good Order.

Nor

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefes which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt make it their unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their owne: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws, and long Cuſtoms, would not run into new their moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make my ſelfe and all my ſubjects fall downe and worſhip the Images they ſhould forme and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſt's Spirit for meekneſſe, wiſdome and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretenſions to reform all to Chriſt's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſt's Glory, the Churches good, the honour of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt act in private, and practiſe that on their own hearts, which they purpoſe to try on others: for Deformities within, will ſoon betray the pretenders of publick Reformations, to ſuch private deſignes as muſt needs hinder the publick good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chifeſt Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts's Kingdom may be ſet up with-

without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appeare good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it since, as I own mine from him, so I desire to rule for his glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor wil evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of Mercy, create light out of darknesse, order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, instead of Christian Reforming.*

*Our greatest deformities are from within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.*

*That we may in clearnes of judgment, and uprightnes of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.*

*Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.*

*As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing*

of

*of ambition, revenge, covetousnes, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawfull wayes shall intrust with so great good, and now most necessary work. That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.*

---

## *XXI. Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteem'd the concealing of my Papers; the freedom and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publike view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divi-

ded

ded between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve my own Rights, then to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreme grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, then to ſee my conſtancy to my Wife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks poyſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy, if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while J am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoone mens deſigne, like *Abſolom's*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet J thank God, J can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expreſſions can do them, for although the cõfidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions, yet the innocency of my chiefe purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſinterpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that J wiſh nothing more, then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that J can both minde and act my own and my Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mines Enemies have alwayes been very loth ſhould be beleeved of me, as if J were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others;

others; whom they please to brand with the names of evill Counsellors.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellor, and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their Anger to my selfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their counsels to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War agrinst me.

The Victory they obtained that day when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause, as Adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectuall to their designes, as those that most tout and waste my Credit with my people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdomes; first, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign: By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be

destroy-

deſtroyed. But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wils and deſignes of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many Papers, how much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity, (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion;) beſides that of Reſpect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, preſent and after-times will judge. And I cannot thinke that their owne conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch undecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſſe which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Cham's* impudency; or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*: which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or proſperous, who thought to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall unconſlineſſe, which I thank God they did not, who can, and I beleeve hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*)] to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile

Perſon

Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered under any notion of Majeſty.

*But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancie of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.*

*As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of* Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.*

*I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.*

*Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to return on their own heads that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion as with a cloak.*

*Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Anointed.*

*But give me a heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.*

*Fixe in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou will honour me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that crown of Chriſtian patience, which knowes how to ſerve thee in honour or diſhonour, in good report or evil.*

*Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſſe and honor, thou art clothed with excellent majeſty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wiſdome, juſtice and mercy; and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour and Majeſty, which*

*which becomes the place in which thou haſt ſet me; who art the liſter up of my head, and my Salvation.*

*Lord, by thy Grace lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.*

---

## XXII. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in theſe He hath not now left me any place where I may with Safety and Honour reſt my Head: ſhewing me, that Himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God; He will have it thus, that I may caſt my ſelf and my now diſtreſſed affaires, upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my Safety, by a diſguiſed with-drawing from my chiefeſt Strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who firſt began my troubles. Happily, God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of them, may diſarm and overcome them; My rendring my perſon to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt me, but for me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunity to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt GOD be my chiefeſt Guard, and my Conſcience both my Counſellour and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I

ſhall

ſhall reſerve my Soul to God and my ſelf; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell me to deſert mine Honour, or ſwerve from my Judgment.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deſert me of all Military power to defend my ſelf, but to put me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, That their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

J muſt now leave thoſe that have adhered to me, and apply to thoſe that have oppoſed me. This method of Peace, may be more proſperous then that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it J am no leſſe ſollicitous for my Friends ſafety, then mine own; chuſing to venture my ſelf upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

Jt is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, then to conteſt in vain.

J muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgment, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion, that J may not ſeem to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Argnments, no: Arms, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new Demands.

J thank God, no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me: And J ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eccliplſe of outward Fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions, not moroſitie to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reaſon and Religion bids me to deny.

I ſhall nevet think my ſelf leſſe then my ſelf, while I am thus able to preſrrve the integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

*O Thou Soveraign of our ſouls, the onely commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are towards thee: to the protection of thy mercy I ſtil commend my Self.*

*As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battle, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.*

*Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.*

*Thou knoweſt that it is not any perverſnes of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.*

*Suffer not my juſt Reſolutions to abide with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany me in my ſolitude and deſertions.*

*Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my ſoul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.*

*Lead me in the paths of thy Righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy Salvation.*

*Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine enemies be at peace with me.*

XXIII. *Upon*

## XXIII. *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* Engliſh, *and His Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them farther then to men: if I am ſold by them, I am only ſorry they ſhould do it: and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſayes which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him; though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Feedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my ſoul in ſin: nor gain that of me, which may make mine Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soul is ſtill my own: nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy; from which, Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis

'Tis evident now, that it was not evil Counſellors with me, but a good conſcience in me, which hath been ſought againſt: nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me, not more a King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoul: Better others betray me then my ſelfe, and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be with my own conſent.

While I can deny with reaſon, I ſhal defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf & mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more then any war can do; while I gratifie a few, to oppoſe all.

The Laws will (by Gods bleſſing) revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects, If I bury them not by my conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which car-

carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome.

After times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not, and God may at length shew my Subjects that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to inslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I pray God deliver them whatever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

*For thou O God infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better then life; and whose service is perfect freedome.*

*Own me for thy servant, and I shall never have cause to complaine for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.*

*Blesse me still with Reason as a man, with Religion as a Christian, and with constancy in justice as a King.*

*Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments wherein I may enjoy my self, and which cannot be taken from me against my will.*

*Let no fire of affliction boil over my passion to any impatience or sordid fears.*

*There be many say of me, there is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me and I shall neither want safety, liberty nor majesty.*

*Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.*

*My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained; O be not thou far from me, least my enemies prevaile too much against me.*

*I am become a wonder, and a scorne too many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.*

*Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me*

may

*may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldeſt have me.*

*Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my ſoul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.*

*Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.*

*I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vail and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I feare none ill.*

---

## *XXIV. Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chappains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civil comforts & ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto, adds the wilderneſſe to my temptations: For, the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad then any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the

*Militia* or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation. But to deny me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the justice of the Law deprive of worldly comfotts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their bodies and to damne their souls

But my agony must not be reliev'd by the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a learned, godly & discreet Divine: & such I would have all mine to be. They that envy my being a King, are loath I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive of all things else, they are afraid *I* should save my soul.

Other sens, charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses I receiv'd, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have some time thought the unchristianesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me preferre my own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them, yet *I* cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians, Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional compliance, and junc-ture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy offices, to be performed with me and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable

fortable; whose golden rule, and bond of perfection consists in that of mutual love and charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it selfe; when like *Jobs* friends they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience: but perswade a man by betraying his own innocency, to despair of Gods mercy, and by justifying their injuries, to stregthen their hands, and harden the hearts of insolent enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my own interests, chiefly upon Conscience and constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron of them and the Church. Although I am very unhansomely requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for my sufferings, then their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meannes which they have brought upon their callings and persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none; only I thought I might have leave to make choyce of some for my speciall Attendants who were best approved in my judgment, and most sutable to my affection. For I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans prayers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither prophane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his owne vilenesse; both knowing what things God allowes him to ask, and in what manner

it becomes a ſinner to ſupplicate the divine mercy for himſelf and others.

*I* am equally ſcandalized with all Prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

*I* confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe *I* am by them better aſſured, what *I* may joyn my heart unto, then *I* can be of any mans extemporarie ſufficiency: which as *I* do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions; ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affections I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitarie, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet catechiſed, nor acquainted. And if *I* were, yet ſhould *I* not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe pietie hang upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be con-

demn

demned to the wo of *Væ soli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of my self to discharge my duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same person, as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes & Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find my self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For, such as seek to deprive me of Kingly power and soveraignty, would no lesse enforce me to live many moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become my own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergie the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than my own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more

enlightned, and affections leſſe diſtracted, than thoſe which are encombered with ſecular affaires: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that ſpirituall Government by which the devout ſoul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſthood, yet as to Eccleſiaſticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt, and I thinke more pious principles: the conſciouſneſſe to my ſpirituall defects makes me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford me, eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my ſubjects to reduce me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny me than this of having ſome means afforded me for my ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choyce of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but only his, that they may ſeeme too able, and too wel-affected toward me and my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I account it the beſt) in which they have forced me to ſerve my ſelf, though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief and impa-

impatience the want of my Chaplains, then of any other my ſervants: and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me, and help my infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I truſt he will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator or Inſtructer.

*To thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my new ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſſe, and quicken my dulneſſe.*

*O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warm my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe; From thee all ſufficiencie; By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.*

*The ſingle wreſtlings of* Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

*O look on me thy Servant in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy houſe with the voice of joy and glad-*

*neſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.*

*O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.*

*It is now thy Pleaſure that I ſh uld be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a ſparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all theſe pious glowings, and devout reflections which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and increaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of Prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.*

*Tet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my Prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoule in this uncomfortable lonenſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want and no leſſe deſire.*

*O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for them; Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my Prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine eare to me, who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard that it will not heare, nor thy hand ſhorined, that it cannot helpe me thy deſolate Supplyant.*

*Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the Communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.*

*O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wi't not deſpiſe.*

*Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations,*

*tions, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelfe to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceptest of me.*

*Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.*

*O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memorie; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.*

*Which yet I had rather chuſe then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting, then teaching me; whoſe mouths are prone to bitter reproaches of me; than to hearty prayers for me.*

*Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation, O let it not be to their damnation.*

*Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their brethren, their King, and their God.*

*O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.*

*From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts; who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.*

25. Pe-

## XXV. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmby*.

*GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cric, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.*

*I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou hearеſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I crie unto thee.*

*If thou Lord ſhouldeſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee that thou mayeſt be feared, therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.*

*I acknowlege my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.*

*Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonal, and my Peoples ſins; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good. Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.*

*Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.*

*I come far ſhort of* Davids *pietу; yet ſince I may equal* Davids *affliction, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

*Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me that thou haſt pardoned them.*

*Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.*

*Turn thee (O Lord) unto me, have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.*

The

*The ſorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.*

*Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?*

*O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.*

*I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the Land of the living.*

*Let not the ſinnes of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.*

*Let this fiery Trial conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.*

*Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet with draw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity; make up in patience and repentance.*

*And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?*

*Let my ſuffrings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemyes.*

*But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.*

*Baniſh from me all thought of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.*

*As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.*

*And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me a heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow which I make before thee.*

*If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.*

*In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Juſtice.*

*In ſuppreſſing the many Shiſmes in Church, and Factions in State:*

*If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.*

*If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy selfe in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.*

*If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the Jewell of these Civill Warres,*

*If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.*

*If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spylings of thy Church.*

*If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.*

*Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.*

*Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care,*

*Then will I rule my people with Justice, and my kingdomes with equity.*

*To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owne as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.*

*If thou wilt bring me againe with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and my Parliament.*

*If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.*

*Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity which I now make unto thee O Lord.*

*As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.*

*We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions;*

*visions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all meanes in the wayes of amnesty, and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealosies in forgetfullnesse.*

*Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.*

*Hear my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.*

*Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer nor taken his mercy from me.*

*O my soule commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.*

*But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?*

*Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.*

*May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me,*

---

## XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the King at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, And the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scen of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who only seekes to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a King cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the times, seems excentrick and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it. These

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Jndependents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider; by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; But for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may J change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition, only with this hope of bettering; that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own conſciences, they cannot in reaſon deny to mine.

Jn this they ſeem more ingenuous; than the Preſbyterian rigour, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novel injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Jndependents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming my perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſign they have a mind to. Their

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſinne, but adde ſin to ſin till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed tumults are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelvs againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted deſertours, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men: now the fliers from, and forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abetrors of tumultuary inſolencies and betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is power above all Rule, Order, and Law: where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigi-

ous

usinſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped & fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pitie: for, I alwaies wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them only ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo il a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyaltie to me; which miſtakes might ecclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my praiers and teares, with compaſſionate grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſevere ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: for all blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſinnes; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fancie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publike conſiſtencie: whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides. Which

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Lawes, then to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar complyance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtroaks.

For the Army, (which is ſo farre excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers Principles and Intereſts, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as farre as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then my ſelfe: Though they have fought againſt me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I never want ſuch men to maintain my ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

*But thou O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.*

*Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make them to ſee how much they need my Prayers, and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.*

*Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of Peace from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Partie, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.*

*Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy Providence, and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and change.*

*Make*

*Make me even such as thou wouldst have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give me.*

*Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populus Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.*

*Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.*

*Teach them, that they cannot want enemies, who abound in sin; nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee, and the cleare convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against me.*

*Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.*

*Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.*

*Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I had suffered, (chiefly at first by them,) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and in my dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.*

*The teares they have denyed me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.*

*O let not my bloud be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.*

But

*But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt as thou didſt my Redeemer, both exalt and perfect me by thy ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty or thy own juſtice.*

---

## *XXVII. To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if theſe Papers with ſome others, wherein I have ſet downe the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned: they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome direction, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I finde my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my ſelfe, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the ſucceſſe; nor my judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my ſelfe; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome yeares of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein *Piety*, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times; or amidſt

theſe

thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Reboboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdome, the other ſoftned by the unparallel'd proſperity of *Solomons* Court, and ſo corrupted to the great diminution both for Peace, Honour and Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries which are as unſeperable from proſperous Princes, as flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon.* then *le Grand*, good then great; I hope God hath deſigned you to both, having ſo early put you unto that exerciſe of his graces and gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, & diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good: Alſo the diſpenſation of civill

vill power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable: nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Center of true Happineſſe, God, J truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines, of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (J hope drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof J have liberally drank, which J look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, J would have you, as J hope you are already; well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt Profeſſion of which, J have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet J would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or traditiou, which you profeſſe.

Jn this J charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which J have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſouls, then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For J have obſerved, that the Devill of Rebellon, doth commonly turne himſelf into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them, for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point you be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publike Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgment, and the Church, well ſetled: Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts, (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as he loſeth you in others; who think themſelves and their Profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe, as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality; or ſo order affairs in point of power, that you ſhall not need to fear, or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devoure the Dove: You may never expect leſſe of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, then from thoſe who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacie: You may hear from them *Jacobs* voyce, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Preſbyterian

byterian Faction in *England*, for many years; ſo compliant they were to publike Order: nor indeed was their Party great in Church or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontent drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any Novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable & ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbyterie their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtook of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breadth, by ſeditious ſpirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend and move, is that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent Rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty & happines; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and Prerogative of any King, who ownes his people as Subjects, not as ſlaves: whoſe

whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety; so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of my own Conscience: the Troublers of my Kingdomes having nothing else to object against me, but this, That *I* preferre Religion and Lawes established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me; Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will You, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publike interest, and the good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with me, as to the removall of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me; I cannot tell; nor am I much

much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in my ſoule, what I beleeve is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour and conſcience I can: reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and You alſo as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring you as I hope he will: My counſell and charge to You is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likely to be alwayes more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe and aſperitie of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skerts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipats their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutours, who are commonly aſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration which attendeth all, that are laid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes and Government or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and so the fundamentall Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine you the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established in Church and State,) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes and to me,) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designes shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation and Liberties. As the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But

But as for the ſeduced Traine of the vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; my charge and counſell to you is, that as you need no palliations for any deſigns, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety & virtue towards the People) even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo you ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your People: who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancie of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendor of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties and Conſciences, then thoſe men that entitle themſelves, the Patrons and Vindicators of them only to uſurp power over them: let then no paſſion betray you to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and clemencie to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes, and which might ſerve to exclude all future jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have you alwayes propenſe to the ſame way, whenever it ſhall be deſired and excepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policie

and neceſſity but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments: for this ia a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as *I* am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe have done ſo; not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, than thoſe ſubjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our injuries, will feele in their owne ſouls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As your quality ſets you beyond any Duel with any ſubject, ſo the nobleneſſe of your mind muſt raiſe you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious you ſhall be to your own merits, upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy and my ſubjects affections towards you; both which I hope you will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercie.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore me, and you after me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſſigned to us; and no ſubjects without an high degree of guilt and ſinne can deveſt us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee you in peace, to let you more fully underſtand the

things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting of some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me: I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion; as Reformed: keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of phantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late Warre against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, Established in *England*: which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits,) have now put in execution; but let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal abate your value and eſteem of true pietie, both of them are to be known by their fruits: the ſweetneſſe of the wine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchanging of love, loyalty and confidence, between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament, have been other then ſuch (however much blaſted by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedom, and honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies, (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) ſince the publike intereſt conſiſts in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Noshing can be more happy for all, then in faire, grave and honorable wayes to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publike conſent; without tyranny or tumult. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever reſtored to our Rights, but God in his ſevereſt Juſtice, will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe;

kedneſſe; J hope God will give Me and You that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up or enjoying, upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep you to true principles of Piety, Vertue, and Honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your Honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes deſerved well of me, and chiefly in this, That having been a means to bleſſe me with ſo many hopefull Children, (all which, with their Mother, J recommend to your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, J thank God, wrapt and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed; and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as J doubt not but my blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo J beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe in-

ward horrour will be their first Tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that love me, I pray God they may have no misse of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe you will find them truly zealous to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In summe, What good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion, (for so it now plainly appears, since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdoms in Righteousnesse, your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you, as of your Father that loves you, and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them, which I studied to preserve; The rights of the

Church,

Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of my Crown, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my people, and my own Conſcience, which (*I* thank God) is dearer to me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

J know God can, J hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights. J cannot deſpair either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and pity.

At worſt, J truſt J ſhall but go before you to a better kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: to whoſe mercies J commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

---

## *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addreſſes, and His Maieſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-*Caſtle.*

AS J have leiſure enough, ſo J have cauſe more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death: for J know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

Jt is Gods indulgence which gives me the ſpace, but mans cruelty that gives me the ſad occaſion, for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me as a man; J now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies and cruel paſſions; whoſe envy or enmity againſt me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while J enjoy any part of mine.

J thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplation of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain; Death being an eccliſe which

oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe naturall Antipathies betweene life and death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawne to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God; I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and cruelty of it exceeded; whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad; as to be either afraid to dy, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make me ſomtime even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by peice meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think my ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much, as in the love & good will of my people; for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead:

not-

notwithſtanding, my enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity and violence of hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the Love and Loyalty which is in my Subjects: and then all that content of life in me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and ſhell, (as it were,) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me, having bereaved me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelfe ſeems deſirable to men.

But O my ſoul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God give thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity, to deſire to die out of wearines of life: and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sunne of our proſperity moves higher or lower, whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſons* Lyon, but they yield much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them: who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhnes, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdomes, my Friends, and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators, my

Enemies inſolent Revilers, and triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe, as to nans cruelty; however, I deſpaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination, or in thoſe greater formalities whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be deſtroyed as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pitie, it will be but a neceſſary policie to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or man inveſts them with any dower of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworne and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of ſubjects againſt their Soveraign, wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publike troubles, muſt by ſhedding My bloud, ſeem to waſh their owne hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſcien-

ces

ces too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *guilt of their unjust usurpation*, notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applyed only to disguise at first, the monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire whose Right it is be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy my selfe with the Church and State by my word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of those whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my innocencie will find him both my Protector, and my Advocate, who is my only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the eminencie of his Power and Majesty above them: but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them, who knowes them to be exposed to as many dangers, (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order and Religion on earth) as there be either men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death among themselves; the injuries I have sustained

ſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my blood, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which, God alone (who only could) hath many waies pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacie in ſinne was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare, that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyrannie and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over my Deſtroyers: by which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my bloud to them further then to convince them what need they have of Chriſts blood to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding mine.

At preſent, the will of my Enemies ſeems to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the exactour of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives deſigns by my death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in

ſeeming

ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, J pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my death are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; J ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This J think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his ſubjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then J am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy J believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all J could enjoy, or conceive in life.

J ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadowes of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; J know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; J am perſwaded J am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my ſubjects, who do not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any ſubjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitly to exceed

faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others (I believe) of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of pairing others nails, been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices, (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine Juſtice as is not ordinary, the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt People opening upon them and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill gotten and worſe uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death, conſiſts in my peace, which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the cauſe ſo long diſputed by the ſword, between me & my cauſeleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; Whoſe wiſe providence, we know, oft permits many events, which his revealed Word, the only clear, ſafe and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences, in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God, and toward my people,

people will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their Piracy and Rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements; then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborne them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects, will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) then they can give it me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt me.

And as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrowes attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace, for all which I have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction and Confuſion.

If

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death which I owe for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept: And although death be the wages of my own ſin, as from God; and the effect of others ſins, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſinnes, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The trophees of my Charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed Victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain, that my temporal death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternal death upon them; for I look upon the temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me over-board: though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other meanes to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soule with my Body: of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpaire, they have only diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my access to the Throne of Heaven.

*Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternal life in whom is no shadow of death.*

*Thou, O God, art both the just Afflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

*Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee, then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.*

*O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man and a King; the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my soule, as a Christian.*

*If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.*

*To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone who art the Almighty and immortal God.*

*O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me, as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life, with thee my God.*

*Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever; though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.*

*O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.*

*O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.*

*As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers; so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.*

*O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.*

*Thou giveſt me leave, as a man, to pray that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me, as a Chriſtian, by the example of Chriſt to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.*

*Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine; let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.*

*As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.*

*Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life gaine, and in death advantage.*

*Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee, and me; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciſull to them.*

*For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?*

*Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.*

*Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many, that crucified him; while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.*

*O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine againſt them.*

*Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their ſinne, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretenſions of Juſtice in deſtroying me, while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.*

*O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruel, who pretending to preſeve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.*

*O deal not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.*

*And when thou makeſt inquiſition for my bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent ſouls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.*

*Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thine infinite mercy at laſt receive both me, and my enemies.*

*When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above thoſe ambitious deſires which beget ſuch mortal enemies.*

*When their hands ſhall be heavieſt and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the Arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.*

*That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever bleſſed eternity.*

*Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

FINIS.

# THE CONTENTS.


1. *UPon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.* pag. 1.
2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.* 4
3. *Upon his Majesties going to the House of Commons.* 9
4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.* 12
5. *Upon his Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.* 18
6. *Upon his Majesties retirement from* Westminster. 23
7. *Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of* England. 28
8. *Upon his Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams. 32
9. *Upon the Listing, and raising Armies against the King.* 37
10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.* 45
11. *Upon the* XIX. *Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.* 51
12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland. 61
13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Coming.* 69
14. *Upon the Covenant.* 75
15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals*

*Scandals caſt upon the King to ſtirre up the People againſt him.* 84
16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.* 95
17. *Of the differences between the King, and the two Houſes, in point of Church-government.* 102
18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the King.* 116
19. *Upon the various Events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.* 120
20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.* 126
21. *Upon his Majeſties Letters, taken and divulged.* 132
22. *Upon his Maieſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots. 137
23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* Engliſh; *and his Captivity at* Holmeby. 140
24. *Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of his Chaplains.* 143
25. *Penitential Meditations and Vowes in the* KINGS *ſolitude at* Holmeby. 152
26. *Upon the Armies ſurpriſall of the King at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army; and the City.* 155
27. *To the Prince of* Wales. 161
*Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle. 175

*FINIS.*

# HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS In time of His RESTRAINT:

*Delivered to Doctor* Juxon, *Biſhop of* London, *immediately before his death.*

O Powerfull and eternall God! to whom nothing is ſo great, that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My miſery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thy infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of thy Juſtice: But yet my God, if in thy wiſdome, this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for My unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ungratefull bondage be fitteſt for My over high deſires; if the pride of My (not enough humbled) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yeeld unto thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what ſorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds

from thee) that by thy goodneſſe which is thy ſelfe, thou wilt ſuffer ſome beame of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it My nobleſt Title to be thy Creature, may ſtill in my greateſt afflictions depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to my deſtruction. And if it be thy will that they more & more vex Me with puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure minde, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble confidence which may beſt pleaſe thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the merits of thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

---

## *A Prayer and Confeſſion, made in and for the times of affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is only thy goodneſſe that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſinnes freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by thee, no man more grievouſly offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that *I* permitted a wrong way of thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? And injured the Biſhops in *England*?

*England*? O no; but with ſhame and griefe *I* confeſſe, that *I* therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdome, forſaking the dictates of a right-informed conſcience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know my repentance is weak, and my prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, ſo to ſtrengthen my repentance, and amend my Prayers, that thou mayeſt clear the way for thine owne mercies, to which, O let thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to my deſerved afflictions. In the mean time, give me patience to endure Conſtancy againſt temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chooſe what is beſt for thy Church and People, which thou haſt committed to my charge. Grant this, O moſt mercifull Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

---

### *A Prayer in time of imminent danger.*

OMoſt mercifull Father, though my ſinnes are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh my tranſgreſſions, to deſpaire of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire thy Divine Majeſty that thou wilt not onely pardon all my ſins, but alſo free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruell Enemies. But if thy wrath againſt My hainous Offences will not otherwiſe be ſatisfied,

then by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, thy will be done; yet with humble importunity, I do, and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My Cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through my weakneſſe, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and inlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth thy Truth, and manfully indure this bloody Triall, that ſo my ſufferings here may not onely glorifie thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to my Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

## A Copy of a Letter which was ſent from the PRINCE to the KING;

Dated from the *Hague*, *January* 23. 1648.

SIR,

*HAving no meanes to come to the know'edge of your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) Report; I have ſent this bearer* Seamour *to wait upon your Majeſty, and to bring me an account of it; that I may withall aſſure Your Majeſty, I doe not onely pray for Your Majeſty according to my Duty; but ſhall alwayes*

*be*

*be ready to doe all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of you.*
*Majeſty upon*

SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.

Your Majeſties moſt humble and
moſt obedient Son and
Servant,

*CHARLES.*

The Subſcription was thus,

For the King.

## His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended juriſdiction of the High Court of Juſtice, which he intended to deliver in writing on *Monday, Ian.* 22. 1648.

HAving already made my Proteſtations, not only againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no earthly power can juſtly call me (who am your King) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occaſion, more then to refer my ſelfe to what *I* have ſpoken, were *I* alone in this caſe concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true Liberty of my people, will not ſuffer me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the

the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which J now take to be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when J came hither, J expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied me concerning theſe grounds, which hinder me to anſwer to your pretended impeachment; but ſince J ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it, (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet J will ſhew you the reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge me, not indeed the meaneſt man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without ſhewing a reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon my Subjects.

* *Hereabout I was ſtopt, and not ſuffered to ſpeak any more concerning Reaſons.*

* There is no proceeding juſt againſt any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Lawes, or the municipall Lawes of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary the Authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denyed, I am ready inſtantly to prove: And for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That *where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay unto him, what doeſt thou? Eccleſ.* 8. 4. Then for the Lawes of this Land, J am no leſſe confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie againſt the King, they all going in his Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old, or new; if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by, the fundamentall Lawes of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelfe, (as is well known

known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge. And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Lawes without King or Lords-houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Lawes of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certain'y you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdome, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo farre are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all my ſubjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government, as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publike Faith that (I beleeve) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pretended Crimes laid againſt me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which account I am againſt my will brought hither, where ſince I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with

my owne juſt right; then for any thing I can ſee the higher Houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deter'd from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the leaſt in my thoughts, and what hopes of ſettlement is there ſo long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flouriſhed for many hundred yeers, (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt me do go on) and beleeve it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have beene of late yeers under the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father, and my ſelf, untill the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms *I* took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons, why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; *I* expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince my judgement, ſhewing me that I am in an errour (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

*This I intended to ſpeak in* Weſtminſter Hall, *on Monday*, 22 January; *but againſt reaſon was hindred to ſhew my Reaſons.*

Mun-

Munday 29. January, 1648.

## A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, *the day before his Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, he firſt gave his bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her brother *Iames*, when e/er ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut thy Fathers head, (upon which words the child look very ſtedfaſtly on him) mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your brother *Charles* and *Iames* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, I will be torne in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

*Another*

## *Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29. of *Ian.* 1648. being the laſt time *I* had the happineſſe to ſee him, he told me, He was glad I was come; and although he had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat he had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe he feared their cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelfe for him; for that would be a glorious death that he ſhould dye; it being for the Lawes and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Policie*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive him alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of his Brothers and Siſters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother that his thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that his love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall he commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to her. And bid me ſend his bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all his friends: ſo after he had given me his bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them, for they had beene moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and he feared alſo to their own ſouls; and deſired me not to grieve for him, for he ſhould dye a Martyr: And that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his

his Throne upon his Son, and that we ſhould be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

*ELIZABETH.*

---

*Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that hee would ſay nothing to him, but what was for the good of his ſoule: He told him, that he heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoule; for he had two Brothers before him: and therefore commanded him upon his bleſſing, never to aceept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him; and commanded him to fear the Lord and he would provide for him.

FINIS.

# An Epitaph upon King *CHARLES.*

SO falls that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood,
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charles*, thou earthly God, celeſtiall man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan;
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theme too high for humane Verſe;
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if he doe,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes call thee back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verſe.
Thy *Suff'rings* and thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

*J. H.*